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Not only does the family thus appear constantly to be attracting to itself members of the ancestral family of either parent, but ~~all of~~ these relatives themselves are deeply interested in the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the case of children who, of course, are members of the ancestral family of both their mother and father. A few days after birth some relative is expected to call together the people of the village where the child is born for the bestowal, and validification, of an ancestral name. It is considered an evidence of poverty if this is done by the father, as if his child were only supported by his parents, not by a larger circle of relatives. ~~In Bella Coola itself~~ It is ~~considered~~ absolutely immaterial whether this gathering is called by a relative of the father or the mother. In June 1922 a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without having ~~being given~~ received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the parsimony of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame. In the old days anyone having the necessary wealth would be glad to perform such a rite, the failure of these two old men was due to their fear of the ~~xxxxxx~~ law prohibiting the potlatch.

As a child grows older he is helped ~~towards his first ceremonies~~ in the performance of ceremonial rites not only by his parents, but also by their brothers and sisters. In this, too, it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, he has no hesitation in ~~xxxxx~~ favouring the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own children, they are all members of the same ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit(1) it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children; not that there is any lack of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect and ~~kindly~~ family feeling ~~paid~~ displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover, in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is most improper for a name which a man has raised to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to ~~a~~ his own child; it should go to a distant relative, ~~and a man helping~~ when a father validates a name for his child ~~should do so with respect to~~ it should be one a long dormant name.

S

One aspect of the manner in which the family merges imperceptably into the an-

(1). According to an intelligent Bella Coola informant, a Bella Bella pays greater attention to the children of his brothers and sisters than to his own offspring, and expressed the opinion that the Kimsquit practice was due to Bella Bella influence. Kimsquit informants denied this, though emphasizing the important part taken by an uncle in obtaining prerogatives for his sisters' children, sometimes to the detriment of his own, which is rare in Bella Coola. the same man ~~two boys~~

cestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man calls his relatives together to make his will, he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of his children. An able son receives much from his father, but ~~if a man has only~~ lazy children, ~~he has no~~ are slighted without hesitation, ~~in slighting them.~~ This is particularly true of ~~xxx~~ names with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as ~~has been~~ previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the ~~influence~~ importance depends on the value of the goods distributed in connection with them, usually revert to the ancestral family and can be ~~recrudesced~~ revived by any~~xx~~ member of it. ~~Xxxxxxx It seems needless to publish xxxxxxxxx pedigrees, which illustrate~~ illustrating the ~~transmission of~~ ancestral names; ~~it will suffice to say that such~~ sometimes in case pass from father to son, from a man to his brother's son, ~~or~~ his sister's son, ~~from brother to~~ his sister, ~~or father to~~ his daughter, or to other relatives belonging to the immediate family. ~~On the other hand, and~~ with ~~much the same~~ equal frequency, names pass from a man to ~~xxxx~~ distant relatives ~~xx~~ of the same ancestral family.

Thus the Bella Coola family, important though it is in the life of the individual, cannot be defined with exactitude either as regards composition or functions, since it varies according to the importance of its head, and tends to merge in the ancestral families of the parents.

KINSHIP TERMS (10 pl. - Solofare c. + l. c.)

In Bella Coola, as in so many parts of the world, kinship terms mirror the social life of the community. ~~Accordingly,~~ The Bella Coola ~~system of~~ nomenclature is not as clear-cut in its application as in other regions, ~~making it necessary to enter into~~ and requires considerable explanations concerning ~~of~~ the ~~secondary~~ uses of many of the terms. It will be seen that the system, although ~~fundamentally~~ founded on the family, ~~yet~~ presents many classificatory features. Whether these ~~must~~ are to be ascribed to an ancient clan system or not is ~~most~~ doubtful; a short discussion of ~~this~~ that point will be found at the end of this section.

The terms are arranged in the following order: First, an individual's relatives of the preceding generation, then those of the next preceding, with their parents, then those of the present generation, followed by terms for heirs of the generations following. Finally come

relations by marriage.

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Father.	Tätao	Täta
	This term is properly used only by a small child, though often continued by an adult as a term of endearment.	Term used only by a small child.
	Män	Män
	Term used, rarely, by an adult ~~fem~~ of either sex; ~~in~~ tätao is more common. Män is often used by an adult when speaking to any old man as a courtesy title.	Used by an adult ~~when speaking of a father.~~
Mother's husband.	Tätao	Täta
	Terms used by small children	
	Män	Mänömut
	Used by adult; more commonly tätao.	Used by adult.
Mother.	Mämao	Mämä
	Used by baby.	Used by baby.
	Gämao	Gämä
	Used by small child.	Used by small child.
	Stän	Stän
	Used by adults of either sex with same limitations as man.	
Father's wife.	Mämao or gämao	Mämä or gämä
	Used by small children.	
	Stän	Stänömut
	Used by adults, more commonly gämao.	Used by adults.

The application to step-parents of the terms usually limited to the real ~~own~~ parents is merely a mark of endearment, without social significance.

~~1905~~

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Parent of either sex.	Äl'qwallaixᵉlx	Ä'mätalᵃyᵉx

These terms are used ~~in respect~~ for a parent ᵡ of either sex when old and feeble. Their use is a mark of courtesy.

Father's brother.	Sisi,	or by name, or	äl'qwallaixᵉlx		Sisi
Mother's brother.	"	"	"		"
Father's sister.	Sᵘsᵉkoom	"	"		Sᵘsᵉkoom
Mother's sister.	"	"	"		"

If the family is so constituted that it contains more distant relatives of the generation preceding that of the speaker, for example, a father's father's brother's son, or a mother's mother's brother's daughter, the terms sisi and sᵘsᵉkoom may be applied in courtesy to these individuals.

Father's father.	Kuⁱqai,	or more commonly,	ïïtao		Kuⁱqi
Mother's father.	"	"	"		"
Father's mother.	Kilxaa	"	qamao		Kika
Mother's mother.	"	"	"		"

Especially when living together, children usually address their grandparents by the terms properly ᵡ reserved for the parents.

Brother or sister of a grandparent.	Especially when living in the same family, are addressed as the grandparents. The terms are further widely applied to elderly members of the same ancestral family.	Waxwaxtsia Seldom used term; more commonly spoken of by name, or as grandparents.
Great grandparents.	As grandparents.	As grandparents.
Elderly male relatives spoken of collectively.		Mämämuktsᵃts
Elderly female relatives spoken of collectively.		Stäntänᵃts

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
		These two terms are ~~only~~ used with respect to a man's "power" through the possession of many elderly relatives.
Eldest brother or sister.	By name, or ʔqwalám	ʔQwalɛm
Second oldest brother or sister.	By name	Äs·iko·tɛ, or aɬtɛkt oɬ ɒi ʔqwalɛm
Third oldest brother ~~Kaurtɛ~~ or sister.	" "	ʔOtitk
Fourth oldest brother or sister.	" "	Qwaxwɛm
Youngest brother or sister.	" " or Saxinao	Saxi

At the present time the intermediate terms are rarely, if ever, used. ʔQwalɛm and saxi are continually employed, the former for a brother or sister older than the speaker, the latter for a brother or sister younger than the speaker. When it is necessary to indicate sex this is usually done by giving the person's name, or by the use of sex-denoting particles. The writer failed to collect these.

Only brother with several sisters.		·mɛlkxäxta
Only sister with several brothers.		Äsxɛn·säxta
Step-brother or sister, same father different mother.	By name, or ʔqwalám or saxinao according to relative age.	Nummaoi ɒi mänao

~~[illegible]~~

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Step-brother or sister, same mother, different father.	By name, or ʔwalám or saxinao according to relative age.	Nuwaoi boi stänao
Father's brother's child, or Father's sister's child, or Mother's brother's child, or Mother's sister's child.	No distinction is made, either in direct or indirect address, between ortho- and cross-cousins. By name, or ʔwalám or saxinao. These terms, though properly reserved for brother and sister, are usually used for all cousins in direct address when an individual's name is not employed. The choice between ʔwalám and saxinao depends on the relative ages of the parents, not on the ages of the speakers. Theoretically, this should be traced back to the first settlement of this earth, so that, for example, an old man claiming descent from the younger of two brothers who first came to this earth, addresses a young girl descended from the elder, as ʔwalám. In consequence, there is often a choice in terminology. Thus a man calls his mother's father's elder brother's son either ʔwalám or sisui.	By name, or ʔwalɛm or saxi, or, rarely, the intermediate terms as used for brother or sister.

Sisi

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Members of the ancestral family, ~~held~~ considered ~~to be of~~ the same generation but more distantly related than first cousins.	When male addresses male or female addresses female ——— nɨmaetaɔ.	When male speaks of male or female speaks of female ——— numaɔ
	When male addresses female, or female addresses male ——— ɛqolmɛɛs.	When male speaks of female, or female speaks of male ——— ɛqolmɛɛn.

~~These~~ terms are seldom used except on ceremonial occasions when the bond of ancient relationship is invoked, especially if assistance is needed in danger.

These terms are also applicable to first cousins.

The term most commonly employed for these relatives is the one for "friend" or "partner", which does not necessarily imply relationship. It is ——

Sätäi. Sätix

Sätix are usually of the same rank and inhabitants of the same village.

ɩmɨlkäxta

~~Male~~ relatives of the same ancestral family and generation as the speaker.

Female relatives of the same ancestral family and generation as the speaker.

Xnɛgäɨta

Child.

Son, until twelve or thirteen years old.

Nunaɔ

Mɨna

ɩmɨmɨlki

Tai, a term of endearment used for any small child, or by name. The use of the personal name becomes more frequent with increasing age.

~~1207~~

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Son, when adult.	By name, or dɨ·tsluksi	By name or ɨmɨlk (man).
Daughter, until twelve or thirteen years of age.	Ts̀eai, a term of endearment used for any small girl, or by name. The use of the personal name becomes more frequent with increasing age.	Xnxmäe·i
Daughter, when adult.	By name; infantile term of endearment is also sometimes used.	By name.
Step-child.	Same as for own childxxx.	
Brother's child or Sister's child.	Usually by same terms as own children, merely as a mark of endearment; also auts. Corresponding to the use of ts̀qwalám where sigai is strictly applicable, saxinae is sometimes used instead of auts.	Auts. Depending on the composition of the family, this term is frequently applied to the children of an auts if they form part of the family group.
Son's child or Daughter's child.	Usually as for own child, or by name, or slɨautsɨkais. This last is merely the term for indirect address, with the endering suffix, kais.	Slɨauts
Descendants.		Ts̀omidjut or slɨaxmidjut. Terms used rhetorically to describe a man with many descendants. The latter term means "many-noses."

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Family.		Mɨmɨnts; the ancestral family, those who claim descent from one group of ancestors, even though their exact relationship has been forgotten.
Husband.	Usually by name, or ɒi kwtɨmsts tai, "my husband", or ɨmʊlk, "man."	ɒi kwtɨmsts tai or by name.
Co-husband, in a polyandrous household.	Mɨxsai's	
Wife.	Usually by name, or tɛi xnɛs dɛaix, "My xnɛs", woman.	By name, or tɛi xnɛs tsaix
Co-wife, in a polygamous household.	Quks	Quks
Wife's brother and the ~~ikx~~ reciprocal,	By name, or quluais	Quluɨs
Sister's husband (man speaking).	" "	"
Wife's sister, and the reciprocal,	Stɛkao, or by name.	Stɛkao
Sister's husband (woman speaking).	" "	"
Brother's wife (man speaking), and the reciprocal,	" "	"
Husband's brother.	" "	"
Brother's wife (woman speaking) and the reciprocal,	" "	"
Husband's sister.	" "	"

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Wife's father,	Skəai	Skəi
or		
Wife's mother,	"	"
and the reciprocal,		
Daughter's husband.	" or by name.	"
Husband's father,	"	"
or		
Husband's mother,	"	"
and the reciprocal,		
Son's wife.	" or by name.	"
Father's brother's wife.	Stän, ständimut, or (as a term of affection without social significance) sɛəksom.	Ständimut or toi mɛs di sisi, "Wife of my sisi."
Mother's brother's wife.	Same as father's brother's wife.	
Father's sister's husband.	Män, mändimut, or (as a term of affection without social significance) sisai.	Mändimut or di kwtəmets toi sɛəksom, "Husband of my sɛəksom."
Mother's sister's husband.	Same as father's sister's husband.	
Brother's son's wife,	Same as son's wife.	Same as son's wife, or
or,		toi mɛs di ants, "Wife
Sister's son's wife.	" " " "	of my ants."
Brother's daughter's husband,	Same as daughter's husband.	Same as daughter's husband, or di kwtəmets di
or,		ants, "Husband of my
Sister's daughter's husband.	" " " "	ants."

Two anomalies must be mentioned. ~~In~~ Thirdly, in case of adoption the kinship terms used are as if the adopted person were a blood member of the family. A child, particularly if regarded as the reincarnation (1) of a recently deceased ~~deceased~~ elderly relative, is often given the latter's name. In such a case the child is addressed by the kinship

(1) See page .

terms applicable to his name-sake. In recent years, at any rate, this application is without social significance, and, as far as the writer could learn, this has always been the case. Bella Coola sentiment is that it is fitting for a child to receive the name of one of its ancestors, ~~and that~~ when a parent ~~they~~ sees the child and thinks of his name, ~~they~~ he thinks of the late deceased, hence it is natural to use kinship terms accordingly. This is more obvious where the child is regarded as a reincarnation, though even in such a case he does not receive any of the marks of respect paid to his name-sake, ~~the reincarnation~~ it is physical, not social. In course of time the reincarnation is forgotten and the child takes his place among others of his own generation, though his reincarnation may be remembered in rhetorical speeches on ceremonial occasions.

~~The~~ terminology The kinship system of the Bella Coola ~~is clearly founded on~~ combines features of the family, ~~although it possesses many features of~~ and the classificatory systems. The reciprocal terms for parents- and children-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law, lack of sex differentiation in the terms for brothers and sisters, and the importance of age in the terminology applied to persons of the same generation, are all features of the classificatory system. On the other hand, ~~the~~ bi-lateralism, ~~of the Bella Coola terminology, its~~ failure to differentiate between cross- and ortho-cousins, and the unsystematic grouping of nephews and nieces show ~~its~~ "family", as opposed to classificatory, principles. Finally, ~~the~~ rhetorical terms for the ancestral family, for many ancestors, and many descendants, correspond to the importance of a large number of relatives in Bella Coola thought.

In many parts of the world the classificatory system of relationship ~~is found~~ occurs where the community is divided into clans, or sibs. The occurrence of certain classificatory features among the Bella Coola raises the question of whether or not they should be regarded as survivals from an earlier clan, or sib, form of social organization. The Bella Coola may once have had clans, but the writer believes that their relationship system does not furnish any real evidence to this effect. The reciprocal terms really have the significance, " Relation by marriage of the same generation", or "of a generation once removed", a form of address which does not

require explanation in any ancient form of social organization. Moreover, the importance of the eldest child, as a potential transmitter of the glories of the ancestral family, is sufficient to account for the necessity of differentiating brothers and sisters in terms of their relative ages. This feature suggests that in former times this was more important than it has been in the recent past. The writer does not imply that the Bella Coola never had a clan system, as such may have been the case many generations ago, but he feels that their kinship terminology can be explained without that hypothesis. The somewhat wide application to cousins of terms which are properly limited to brothers and sisters may easily have been derived from a process of copying. The Bella Coola are well acquainted with the clan system of the northern coastal tribes, so that it is by no means impossible, or unlikely, that they should have adopted the principle of applying the kinship terms to many individuals, and naturally applied such terms to members of their own ancestral families. Finally, the somewhat vague and unsystematic applications of terms to relatives according to whether or not they are members of the immediate family, is a feature not at all surprising in view of the essential fluidity of Bella Coola social organization.

SLAVES

Since a slave was (1) without status in the Bella Coola community, it is, perhaps, incorrect to include a description of slavery in a chapter on social organization. The writer's reason for so doing is that slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, and it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was absolutely impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of the number of slaves in Bella Coola; the institution has been so long abandoned that only vague guesses. Basing his opinion on remarks made in the course of conversation by old men, the writer believes that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in

(1). One of the first, effects of the white man's coming to British Columbia was the freeing of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section.

~~1212~~

every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as 30 to 40% of the total population. It is obvious that such is no more than a rough estimate.

Slaves were obtained in three ways:—

CAPTIVES TAKEN IN WAR. When a ~~war~~-party raided a village most of the inhabitants were slain, but some, especially children, ~~ex~~ young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. As far as the writer could learn once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

SLAVES OBTAINED BY PURCHASE. Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold. The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon, ~~which~~ that they were able to exchange there fish with the members of other tribes ~~in exchange~~ for slaves. ~~The~~ lack of strong chieftainship among the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category belong slaves obtained as presents at potlatches. If, however, a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was given as a slave to a Bella Coola, he was treated as a guest. Slaves were bartered between Bella Coola individuals as a matter of course. Their value depended on ~~their~~ sex, ability and industriousness, as well as the universal law of supply and demand. At times, when there was ~~a glut on the market~~ an over-supply, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty salmon, but whenever an owner found that someone wished to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price. If a foreigner borrowed ~~money~~ goods in Bella Coola he was usually forced to leave a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a Xɪxais Indian, from near Oʊtsa Lake, borrowed goods from a Kimsquit man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not returned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kitimat.

SLAVES OBTAINED BY DEBT. Not only were slaves obtained from other tribes in war or trade, ~~but~~ it was not uncommon for a Bella Coola to lose his freedom by gambling. At "lehal" especially, a player who had exhausted his goods not infrequently wagered his children, or in extreme cases, himself. If he lost, his child~~ren~~ Pen or himself, be-

~~1213~~

come the ~~slave~~ property of the winner. Unless speedily repurchased by some relative, ~~of the~~ such slaves were usually ~~kept as slaves or sold~~ or given away ~~later, they were usually~~ sold at ~~once~~ the first opportunity to the member of a foreign tribe, since it was considered improper for a man to hold another Bella Coola as a slave. The same course of action was taken on those rare occasions when one Bella Coola village fought against its neighbour and prisoners were taken.

no caps ⟶ TREATMENT AND STATUS OF SLAVES

To the Bella Coola, who still considers a man's "power" in the land as dependent to a considerable extent on his ~~family~~ ancestral myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had no ancestral home, and hence no rights in Bella Coola. "No slaves came to earth with the first people," said the Bella Coola. ~~He~~ A slave was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. ~~since it was thought that~~ On the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other slaves since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to anyone at any time. Prisoners of war were frequently ransomed by their friends, a further cause for their preferential treatment. A Bella Coola who had been enslaved and ransomed had to undergo a cleansing ceremony ~~to~~ to remove the taint of slavery before he could take part in the ceremonies of the community. It was impossible to learn the details of this rite.

A master had complete power over a slave, unaffected by the force of public opinion since the affairs of a slave, being without relatives, were of no consequence to anyone. Accordingly, the lot of a slave depended on the ~~individual~~ character of his master, and ~~a~~ on his own ability and industry. ~~For a~~ Bella Coola valued an industrious slave, such a one would not be traded ~~or~~ sold except through dire necessity, and in course of years he became, as far as actual treatment was concerned, one of the family. ~~T~~ Frequently ~~some~~ masters gave their slaves kusiut dance prerogatives, expending large sums for the purpose, ~~and cases have been known of a slave having been made a member of~~ and they were rarely admitted to the ranks of the sisaok In such a case the slave might become an influential member of the community, though the fact that he ~~was~~ a slave was never forgotten. On the other hand a master had not the slightest compunction about beating a lazy slave, and could kill such a one if he so desired. ~~But~~ None of the present Bella Coola have heard of such a case; ~~since~~ it was considered more sensible to sell or give away an unsatisfactory slave. It was accepted as a matter of course that

a master should provide his slaves with food and clothing, ~~while~~ nice anything produced or obtained by a slave belonged to his master. ~~In the case of female slaves a master~~ A slave owner had ~~had~~ full rights to ~~them~~ his female slaves, and unquestionably exercided these rights to a considerable extent. The only restraints were the jealousy of his own wife, or wives, and the feeling that it was undignified for a free man to demean himself. The writer was unable to learn, with even approximate accuracy, how much intercourse used to take place between masters and slaves. Probably not a great deal, though there ~~must have been~~ was a considerable amount of freedom of relations between slave women and the young men of the community, unrestrained by the pride of a chief. ~~But once~~ Tamahia. When a slave had been faithful for a number of years and had become almost a member of the family, his master would try to arrange his marriage with some female slave; ~~and~~ once this had taken place, the actual treatment meted out to a slave, or a slave woman, differed only slightly from that shown to a member of the family. The writer believes that formerly it would have been difficult for a stranger to tell married slaves from the members of the Bella Coola community until he had been long enough in the country to understand more than appeared on the surface.

Marriages between Bella Coola men and slave women were not infrequent, while like partnerships between slave men and even the daughters of chiefs were not unknown. ~~If a Bella Coola man lived with a slave woman and she became pregnant~~ In such cases the status of the children depended on the performance of ceremonies to wash from them the stain of their slave blood. ~~If the father was wealthy and~~ While the mother was pregnant her husband would call guests, not only from his own village, ~~but~~ but from foreign tribes as well. Presents were given, according to the wealth of the donor, often aided by his immediate family, to "wash the child." Such ceremonies would be repeated several times during pregnancy, and again at the birth. ~~of the child,~~ Bella Coola sentiment was that such presents gagged the recipients; they knew of the dishonourable ancestry of the child, but ~~having received~~ the receipt of presents on his account had wiped away the disgrace. Such a child was able to inherit prerogatives from his mother's old home, duly validated in Bella Coola by valuable gifts, and by his own lavish presents could silence those who remembered the blot on his ancestry. Similar procedure was carried out if a Bella Coola woman married a

~~1215~~

slave. Unless already owned by one of her family, the woman's father or brother would arrange to purchase her husband. Then, aided by him, they would give the same type of presents to clear the children from the taint of slavery. ~~Such~~ If the Bella ~~Coolaxxx

Inlet myths came to Bella Coola.

To sum up, it may be said that the position of slaves in Bella Coola was not particularly onerous, ~~one,~~ though it depended entirely on the will of their masters. Without status in the community, a slave could have been abused by a cruel owner, though the public life of the village, where all lived and ate togther, tended to break down the unsystematically enforced differences of rank.

The title of this paper is, I am afraid, rather too optimistic. It is my intention to limit myself to a description of the composition and function of some, rather than all, of the social groups of the Bella Coola. The material was collected in the field longer ago than I like to remember, and has become submerged in the files of the National Museum of Canada at Ottawa. I should perhaps explain that the Bella Coola are an isolated Salish-speaking group resident on the coast of central British Columbia. At the time of European contact in the late 18th century they occupied some forty villages in two river valleys and along the intervening coast. The population has shrunk from several thousands to about 400 individuals, largely concentrated in a single village. Professor Boas visited the Bella Coola country ~~about~~ forty years ago and his publications have remained the only important source.

With regard to the group as a whole, the Bella Coola think very definitely of themselves as what may be termed a ~~Tribe~~. There is no trace of central government, nor of common action by the group as a whole, yet there is a clear recognition of ~~cultural~~ unity, which is most clearly shown in scorn of their neighbours, particularly of the interior tribes. "We Bella Coola do this", or "think that" is an expression which one hears constantly. The most obvious basis for this ~~statement~~ feeling is linguistic; the Bella Coola are those who speak the Bella Coola language, a fact which clearly separates them from their neighbours. Of greater significance to the natives is the fact that every Bella Coola should be able to point out the spot where his ancestors came down from the sky

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land at the beginning of time, following their creation in this sky land. The Bella Coola are not interested in the origins of other tribes, but they are intensely proud of being the descendants of ~~what~~ those whom they regard as ~~a~~ specially created by the creator deity. Furthermore, their fate in the next world is dependent upon this creation concept. Thus it may be said that the Bella Coola sentiment of unity rests basically upon linguistic and religious factors.

Within the tribe, the ~~next~~ largest social groups are those which I have termed, for lack of a better term, the "ancestral families", and with your permission I will abandon my manuscript at this point. The basis of the ancestral family is entirely dependent on religious or folk-lore concepts.

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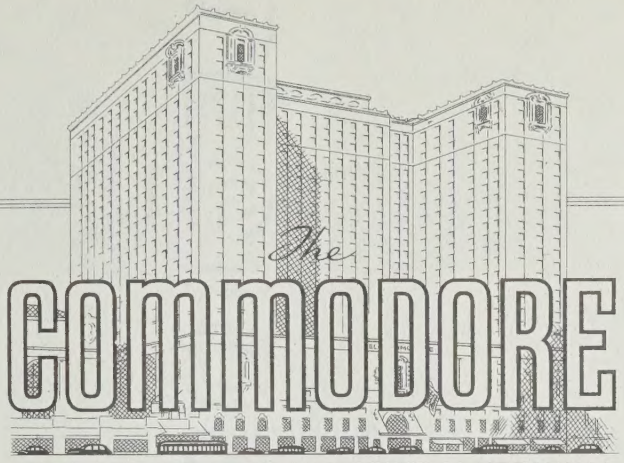

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Bella Coola Social Structure.

A. The Tribe. Approx. 400 individuals, survivors of several thousand, formerly living in 40 or 50 villages in two valleys and along coast.

Strong sense of tribal pride, more strongly displayed in scorn of others than in pride of self. Feeling of cultural unity, dependent on:

(a) Common language.

(b) Common religious origin.

B. The Ancestral Family.

(a) Myth concepts, groups of early settlers, each with specific names and other prerogatives.

(b) Early exogamic marriages, leading to a diffusion of these prerogatives which were heritable ~~to the~~ both through the father and the mother.

(c) Desire to bring these wandering prerogatives back, leading towards endogamy and patrilineal inheritance.

(d) Thus, the "ancestral family" comprises those living and dead, individuals, who believe themselves descended from one of these first groups. One person may be a member of more than one of these groups.

(e) The prerogatives ~~attached to these~~ shared by each ancestral family are of two kinds.

(A) Names. (B). Land.

(f) Each of these are theoretically embodied in a single origin myth.

(g) A social group, of tremendous pride importance, but without central government.

(h) Characteristics are heritable in ancestral families, 150-151
Read 149 and 150

C. Village

(a) Sociologically, the descendants of an ancestral family, plus hangers-on and slaves.

(b) All suffered in case of attack.

(c) No true chief, but influence of men of wealth.

(D) The family.

(a) Responsibility for upbringing of children.

(b) Size varies with wealth.

(c) Tendency to ~~merge with~~ incorporate parts of ancestral family, and for distant relatives, e.g., to validate childrens' names.

(E) Slaves.